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## THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

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AT the close of the Rebellion it was expected that the negro race would gradually disperse throughout the United States, and lose its race identity and distinct local habitat. An examination of the census shows that during the past twenty years there has been practically no migration of the negro from his Southern home. Excepting the southern counties of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, in the entire territory of the North and West the annual increase of negro population has been perceptibly lower than the average annual increase of the negro race in the United States. If the great body of the race, suffering from social ostracism, poverty, and political oppression, has voluntarily remained within its present geographical boundaries, we may assume that it will remain there permanently. What are those boundaries? If a straight line should be drawn from the northern border of Delaware to the north-eastern corner of Kansas, and one from that point south to the Gulf of Mexico, nineteen-twentieths of the negro race in America would be found east and south of these lines. But taking the seven Atlantic and Gulf States, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, we have a compact territory, uniform in climate and resources, and inhabited by two-thirds of all the negroes in the United States. The actual occupancy of the soil and the providential adaptation of the race to its physical surroundings, suggest that this territory will be the permanent future home of the negro race.

The census of 1880 disclosed the fact that the native white population had increased twenty per cent. in the past ten years, and that the negro population had increased thirty-five per cent. in the same time. Increasing two per cent. annually, whites will double in every thirty-five years, while negroes, increasing three and a half per cent. annually, will double in every

twenty years. Immigration of foreign or northern whites may affect the future relation of the races, but such a theory finds support neither in history nor in existing facts. Races have migrated along the parallels of latitude, their northern or southern movements being almost invariably limited by the boundaries of the isothermal belts. In the year 1882-83, 400,000 foreigners landed in the United States; of this number, only 736 settled in the seven States named above. With due allowance for foreign and northern immigration, it still seems a reasonable conjecture that, adopting the ratios established, within sixty years negroes will be in the majority in all the South, and that one hundred years from to-day they will be double the number of whites in every Southern State. The following table indicates the present and estimated future population of the Atlantic and Gulf States:

<i>Whites.</i>		<i>Negroes.</i>	
1880...	3,814,395	1880.....	3,721,481
1915.....	7,600,000	1900.....	7,400,000
1950.....	15,200,000	1920.....	14,800,000
1985.....	30,400,000	1940.....	29,600,000
		1960.....	59,200,000
		1980.....	118,400,000

Amalgamation is regarded by many as a possible solution for our race difficulties. The theory has been advocated both in this country and abroad, but no one has brought to its support more thorough research and weight of statement than Canon George Rawlinson of England. After basing encouragement for distinct race amalgamation on mixtures of different family stocks of the white race, Rawlinson plainly admits that the American problem is the most difficult that has confronted a civilized people, and that, with one exception, it has no parallel in ancient history. For reasons which are evident, the advocates of amalgamation seldom cite modern instances. Examples, however, are numerous. The Griquas of South Africa, hybrids of Dutch colonists and Hottentots; the Kuruglis of Western Africa, of Turkish-Moorish descent; the Zambos of Western South America, mongrels of mixed European, negro, and indigenous American races; the Portuguese-Malay half-castes of the East Indies; the English-Maori half-breeds of New Zealand; the Dutch-Malay half-breeds of Java; the Mongolian and Slavic mixture of Russian Asia; the Portuguese and negro

population of Brazil; and the Mestizos of Mexico; all are examples of modern race fusion, but without an exception they disclose results adverse to miscegenation. In no instance does the mixed people show the mental vigor of the Caucasian parent stock, and in most instances the mental and moral condition of the half-castes is lower even than that of the inferior parent stock. The following epitome of the results of amalgamation in this country was prepared by the late Dr. Sandiford B. Hunt, upon an examination of the brains of several hundred persons, and shows respectively the state of hybridization and the weight of brain in grammes: Whites, 1,424; three-fourths white, 1,390; one-half white, 1,334; one-quarter white, 1,319; one-eighth white, 1,308; one-sixteenth white, 1,208; negroes, 1,331. Predominance of white blood increases cerebral development, while the presence of one-quarter, one-eighth, or one-sixteenth produces a brain capacity decidedly inferior to that of the pure negro. The possibility of amalgamation is a different consideration. In discussing this question, Canon Rawlinson and other miscegenists have made a common initial blunder. They have assumed that the 6,500,000 negroes would gradually disperse throughout the United States, and would be absorbed by the 43,000,000 whites. Present indications are against this assumption. The negro will doubtless remain in the seven States designated. In cities and towns of 4,000 inhabitants and upward in those States, there are 234,427 negroes and 332,834 whites, leaving for the rural and village population, 3,487,000 negroes and 3,481,561 whites. Atlanta and Augusta are the only inland cities in this entire territory, every other important city being a sea-port. Negroes are very evenly distributed among the whites, and the population is emphatically rural. This suggestion is offered: Southern estimates show that a legitimate amalgamation is slowly beginning between the races. This will continue. The negro is acquiring land, becoming educated, gradually asserting and maintaining his legal and political rights, and approaching more and more to the social level of the whites. Fifty years from to-day, in the aggregate of numbers and of wealth, the negro outside of the sea-port cities will be the superior, the Caucasian the inferior race. In the seven States the races are even now numerically equal, and a general amalgamation would produce a mulatto stock in which the negro physique and physiognomy would predominate.

Whites would be absorbed by negroes, not negroes by whites, and the brain capacity of the mixed race would be little superior to that of the pure negro. Fifty years hence, when negroes will surpass whites as three to one, the mongrel race will represent brain capacity decidedly inferior to the negro of pure blood.

The plan of exporting and colonizing the race is less practicable to-day than it was before Emancipation. The negro is a citizen, and his own consent must be obtained before he can be exported to Africa or elsewhere. He is proud of his citizenship, and it is folly to expect that he will expatriate himself voluntarily. Original suggestions as to his future can be of value only as they are justified by existing facts. The negro is here; his legal equality is declared; his home is in the South, and he evinces no inclination to leave it. Forcible deportation is impracticable; numerically he is increasing more rapidly than the whites; any general amalgamation is impossible. Amalgamation in the South is possible, probable, and in actual process of fulfillment. Hence the whites must either amalgamate with negroes, or they must migrate from the South, or they must remain an inferior element and submit to negro supremacy. The wealthy and enterprising whites will gradually migrate to the border States or to the sea-board cities, while those who have so far degenerated from their race-pride and race-spirit as to prefer such supremacy to emigration will gradually be absorbed or controlled by negroes. The policy that has controlled the relations of whites and negroes in the past has been legal and political. It has been a policy of emergencies, requiring extraordinary measures for constantly recurring crises. The future policy should prevent crises by removing, so far as possible, the causes of race conflict; and this desired result will be accomplished in proportion as the important ethnological facts and principles here considered are recognized in politics and embodied in law.

CHARLES A. GARDINER.

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THE negro is physically a strong man. In his native land, where the conditions of climate and food are favorable, his stature is good, and his muscular development, though rugged and ungraceful, is sinewy, tense, and powerful. In America he

has gained greater height, more rotundity of limb, and greater ease and smoothness of movement. Nothing in the census reports indicates that the negro race in the United States will not increase in numbers. Our colored population already numbers more than six millions, and another decade will probably show an increase of at least fifteen per cent.

For fifteen years every means that Congress could devise has been supplied to the negro race to enable them to attain a condition which will protect them in all the rights, liberties, and privileges that are enjoyed by the whites. To the personal and political power of the ballot have been added the guardianship of the Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen's Bank and its branches, the civil rights statutes, and all the power of tyrannical courts to enforce their alleged civil rights; and still they are no stronger as a race, and probably no better as individuals than they were at the beginning of these efforts. The Supreme Court has broken down this social legislation, as being contrary to the Constitution; the financial plan has resulted in disgraceful failure; and Congress has just ascertained that the negro cannot use the ballot for his own benefit, because his "appalling illiteracy" prevents him from reading it. The latest expedient of Congress is to appropriate \$10,000,000 a year to educate the children of 6,000,000 negroes, so that they can understand the government which their more ignorant fathers are engaged in conducting. We shall probably try this expedient and fail, in the States, as we have failed in the District of Columbia, where the abolition of negro suffrage has been decreed by Congress, notwithstanding the fact that the negroes in that district are of much higher average intelligence than in the States. After two or three hundred millions of dollars have been expended in the effort to educate the negro into the knowledge of the proper uses of political power, and to induce him to forget his race prejudices and vices, the same party which claims to have emancipated him will become the most active in his disfranchisement. It has begun this process in the same place where it began his emancipation, the District of Columbia.

All that has been done by Congress to elevate the negro race in the States has been to wage a conflict with the white race upon a question of caste, and to stimulate individual negroes to demand a social equality which they are not prepared to enjoy, and

which they, equally with the whites, consider an interference with their natural and exclusive privilege. Neither race desires to blend with the other, socially or physically, and Congress has not power enough to compel this union. Individuals sometimes show a desperate desire for miscegenation, but they indulge it always at the expense of a loss of the respect of both races. Congress, to maintain its own consistency upon the point of securing equal political and social privileges to both races, finding that negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was injurious to good government, disfranchised all men of all races there. Thus we begin to undo what the ballot was intended to accomplish for the negro in politics; while fraud has destroyed the effort to concentrate his financial power in the Freedmen's Bank, and the Supreme Court has relieved Congress of its assumed guardianship over his social and family affairs. Legislative remedies have failed to remove the negro race from the plane which they appear to have selected for their pursuit of happiness, in accordance with natural laws. This failure is definitive, and it is folly to repeat the attempt.

In the South the negroes congregate in dense communities. The numerous efforts to cause them to disperse into other communities have met with little success. It seems probable that the existing status will continue, and will become more permanent, as the negroes are better informed, until a change occurs through some great family movement. Increased intelligence, accumulated wealth, greater experience in business affairs, and better education in the industrial arts and in the art of government, must magnify their power and importance. But, in this country, this growth will avail but little for their advantage. Here they have to encounter personal, individual competition with the white man. The greater their personal success may be the more they will feel the pressure of caste, and their advancement in enterprises which may bring them personal honor and wealth will be checked by the jealousy of caste, so that the race-prejudice will forever remain as an incubus on all their individual or aggregated efforts. Turning to a land that has been under the seal of darkness until now, we seem to discover the natural theater for negro development, and welcome it as a door opened by the hand of Providence to the Africans who have gained the powers incident to Christian civilization while in

bondage, and are now prepared to enter upon their inheritance with the assurance of success. The Free States of the Congo open to the American negro his first real opportunity to prove himself worthy of the liberties and civilization with which he has been endowed.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

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It would require the ken of a statesman and the vision of a prophet combined to tell with certainty what will be the ultimate future of the colored people of the United States, and to neither of these qualifications can I lay claim. We have known the colored man long as a slave, but we have not known him long as a freeman and as an American citizen. What he was as a slave we know; what he will be in his new relation to his fellow-men, time and events will make clear. One thing, however, may safely be laid down as probable, and that is, that the negro, in one form and complexion or another, may be counted upon as a permanent element of the population of the United States. He is now seven millions, has doubled his number in thirty years, and is increasing more rapidly than the more favored population of the South. The idea of his becoming extinct finds no support in this fact. But will he emigrate? No! Individuals may, but the masses will not. Dust will fly, but the earth will remain. The expense of removal to a foreign land, the difficulty of finding a country where the conditions of existence are more favorable than here, attachment to native land, gradual improvement in moral surroundings, increasing hope of a better future, improvement in character and value by education, impossibility of finding any part of the globe free from the presence of white men,—all conspire to keep the negro here, and compel him to adjust himself to American civilization.

In the face of history I do not deny that a darker future than I have indicated may await the black man. Contact of weak races with strong has not always been beneficent. The weak have been oppressed, persecuted, driven out, and destroyed. The Hebrews in Egypt, the Moors in Spain, the Caribs in the West Indies, the Picts in Scotland, the Indians and Chinese in our own country, show what may happen to the negro. But



happily he has a moral and political hold upon this country, deep and firm, one which in some measure destroys the analogy between him and other weak peoples and classes. His religion and civilization are in harmony with those of the people among whom he lives. He worships with them in a common temple and at a common altar, and to drag him away is to destroy the temple and tear down the altar. Drive out the negro and you drive out Christ, the Bible, and American liberty with him. The thought of setting apart a State or Territory and confining the negro within its borders is a delusion. If the North and South could not live separately in peace, and without bloody and barbarous border wars, the white and black cannot. If the negro could be bottled up, who could or would bottle up the irrepressible white man? What barrier has been strong enough to confine him? Plainly enough, migration is no policy for the negro. He would invite the fate of the Indian, and be pushed away before the white man's bayonet.

Nor do I think that the negro will become more distinct as a class. Ignorant, degraded, and repulsive as he was during his two hundred years of slavery, he was sufficiently attractive to make possible an intermediate race of a million, more or less. If this has taken place in the face of those odious barriers, what is likely to occur when the colored man puts away his ignorance and degradation and becomes educated and prosperous? The tendency of the age is unification, not isolation; not to clans and classes, but to human brotherhood. It was once degradation intensified for a Norman to associate with a Saxon; but time and events have swept down the barriers between them, and Norman and Saxon have become Englishmen. The Jew was once despised and hated in Europe, and is so still in some parts of that continent; but he has risen, and is rising to higher consideration, and no man is now degraded by association with him anywhere. In like manner the negro will rise in the social scale. For a time the social and political privileges of the colored people may decrease. This, however, will be apparent rather than real. An abnormal condition, born of war, carried him to an altitude unsuited to his attainments. He could not sustain himself there. He will now rise naturally and gradually, and hold on to what he gets, and will not drop from dizziness. He will gain both by concession and by self-assertion. Shrinking cowardice wins noth-

ing from either meanness or magnanimity. Manly self-assertion and eternal vigilance are essential to negro liberty, not less than to that of the white man.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

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In my opinion, the negro will remain where he is, with only such changes as other races have sometimes made from transient motives. But he will remain as a race forever practically distinct. The feeling against the intermarriage with negroes is more intense among the whites now than it was when such a thing first became possible. It is regarded with so much disgust that when you find a white man or woman ready to marry a negro, you may be sure the negro will get the worst of the bargain.

The increase or diminution of the negro's political and social power will depend entirely upon himself. If he continues to array himself solidly against the whites, following blindly the renegade element of selfish white men, neither his political nor his social status can be much improved. As a rule, his Southern white leaders have no virtues to impart to him, and naturally he cannot hope for any favors from those whom he strives to injure politically.

He can never hope to gain anything by that kind of self-assertion which will bring him into contact with and render him more obnoxious to the ruling race. He will better himself in every respect by wisely conceding the management of affairs to those who are more competent to direct them, and by cultivating the closest friendship with the whites among whom he has to live.

So long as he suffers himself to be made a pliant political tool, casting his vote as directed from outside his own community, and refusing to identify himself with the property and intelligence of the section where he lives, his usefulness as a factor in the public prosperity will be greatly impaired, and he will be an element of danger to the welfare of society. Education cannot at once remove the difficulty.

The qualification of a servile race for the enjoyment and preservation of liberty is a slow and unsteady process at best, and in this case it is likely to be retarded indefinitely by the persistent effort to keep the negro at constant enmity with those who are most competent to train him and most interested in his advancement.

Z. B. VANCE.

FOR several years after the war the negroes in the farming regions of the South manifested an uncontrollable tendency to roam about the country. They considered no agreement, contract, or promise to be binding. They were restless, uneasy, and suspicious, and utterly untrustworthy as laborers. At a crisis of the cropping season, the "hands" on a farm would disappear one by one, leaving their employer to do the best he could; and the best he could do would be to hire other negro laborers, who, in their turn, would disappear when their labor was most necessary. It would be difficult to estimate the results of this condition of things. More important than the actual pecuniary losses, though these were considerable, was the irritation produced. The planters felt that they had a real grievance, and one for which there was no remedy. It was feared and predicted that the untrustworthiness of the negroes as laborers would develop and expand into a characteristic. Time has shown, however, that the restless and uneasy movements of the blacks was a natural and inevitable result of their emancipation. They were simply testing their freedom. They have gradually settled down, and whatever movement there is among them is as casual as, and of no greater importance than, similar movements of the whites. The great majority of them are reasonably industrious and economical. Their services as farm laborers are indispensable. Many of them are accumulating property, and it is probable that the example of these would tend to prevent any general migration. The negroes seem to be doing very well where they are, and if there is any dissatisfaction among them in respect of their condition, the feeling may be traced to the foolish suggestions of those who profess to believe that the African race in America ought to have reached, in two hundred and fifty years, a position that the white race has been more than twenty centuries in reaching.

The fact that the recent marriage of a representative negro to a white woman has been harshly criticised by the most intelligent negroes of the country, would indicate that the aversion to intermarriage is as strong in one race as in the other. Whenever the occasion arises, the negro is quick to draw the color line, and in some sections in the South, notably in the older cities, there are well-defined social feuds between the blacks and the mulattoes.

The political privileges of the negro in the future will be precisely what he makes them. To the extent that he manifests

a comprehension and an appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship, to that extent will he win the confidence and respect of his white fellow-citizens. Upon the relations of mutual respect and confidence, every man's political privileges depend, if by "political privilege" is meant anything more than the privilege of voting. In order to enjoy an increase of political privileges, the negro must become a citizen, not merely by law, but by understanding, conduct, and sympathy. In this respect he must be tested by the same rules that are applied to white men. Citizenship carries with it the right to hold office, but it does not confer the office itself. Something besides citizenship is necessary to give a man influence, or to win for him the respect and esteem of his neighbors. The negro must carve out his own future, not as a negro, but as a citizen, as an individual. If, by means of education and experience, he is enabled to proceed in the spirit that should characterize every man who appreciates the responsibilities of citizenship, he will not lack the active sympathy of his white fellow-citizens.

The idea that the negro occupies a special place as a citizen has been carefully nurtured by the politicians; but it is this idea that has been more damaging to his progress than any opposition he has ever found at the South. Concessions and compromises of one sort and another are the basis of citizenship itself, and from these concessions and compromises spring the benefits and advantages of political society, of government. The negro will gain new opportunities as rapidly as he improves those that already offer.

So long as he remains ignorant, the negro cannot but prove a source of danger. Ignorance is always dangerous; it is specially dangerous where unscrupulous men are found willing to take advantage of it. The hope is, that the ignorance of the negro is susceptible of enlightenment, and of this there can be no doubt.

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS.

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THE negro will migrate, just as he has for fifty years, though not impelled by the same causes. The nucleus of the negro population of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston came originally from Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Louisiana. They came by reason of manumission, by flight,

or remained when their too confiding masters brought them up on Northern soil. Since the war, there has been a constant ebb and flow of this interstate migration, and in many instances it has completely overslaughed the more stable ante-war population of the cities mentioned. The stream has penetrated far to the West and North-west, where many have gone, and where they receive higher wages than they did at the South. On the other hand, at the close of the Rebellion, many of the younger men, born at the North, went South, generally settling in the States from which their fathers had migrated. They took an active part in reconstruction politics. Of those born at the South prior to the war, a large number followed Union officers home, gained educational advantages, a knowledge of men and affairs, and have since returned as teachers and business men. Hitherto, migration has followed the natural law, and seemed confined to the younger men. Now, the impulse affects those of mature age, and the South seems, as it should be, their natural goal. The negro will not only migrate, he will also emigrate; but only when impelled by absolute poverty or despair, or when led by prospects of pecuniary gain, and not in sufficient numbers to affect appreciably his social or political status in the South. He will become, however, more and more interested in the capabilities of the fatherland. From the United States the stream of civilization will inevitably lead to Africa. The rich table-lands east of Liberia will be occupied first, and we may look for many radiating currents therefrom. It would be poetic justice to see a Negro-American civilization redeeming Africa. The antipathy formerly felt by the Negro-American to colonization has passed away. He now sees quite clearly that to civilize Africa is to exalt the negro race. Our own Government, through its Department of State, could aid in this, by appointing every diplomatic and consular officer on the African continent from among the large number of ambitious and able colored men. It would be a brilliant stroke of policy for the spread of our commerce, and for allaying the phantom of negro supremacy, while it would open up a career to many of the colored people of the country in the way of business, and give a renewed impetus to emigration. No wholesale emigration need be looked for immediately. Even if Henry Clay's wished-for bridge of boats could span the Atlantic, and the

blacks could be induced to cross in a continuous throng, the daily birth-rate, so largely increased under improved social regulations, would more than balance the daily list of emigrants. The negro's home is at the South. Reconstruction, exodus, ku-klux, Danville riots, proscription, and political trickery, all have failed to dislodge him. The white people are used to him, and cannot indeed get along without him. Though the negro is at the mercy of the white people at present, and is easily managed, cheated, cajoled, and ruled by the old master class, he yet thrives under it all. He is educating his children, has a hold now on the land, and daily grows stronger in every element of good citizenship. A century hence, he will be the ruling power at the South, unless all human experience, and all laws, social, economic, and statistical, are at fault. It is to the negro's interest to remain at the South, and even to encourage his Northern brother to come there also. The highest colored population in any Northern State is 65,000 in Pennsylvania; Ohio comes next, with 63,000. The lowest is Oregon, with only 346. In fact, there are only seven Northern States that have over 20,000 negroes.

The tendency at the South will be toward the predominance of pure blacks. This is already observable. The tendency of blacks to assert themselves, while resulting disastrously under reconstruction, would operate far otherwise under more normal conditions. In only isolated cases will the negro seek to marry with white people. Few negroes who have any real pride of race ever do. In all experience of forced cohabitation before the war, the white was the persistent miscegenationist, the black was the victim. Statistics and the observation of travelers inform us of the decrease of the numbers of mixed bloods. They must be absorbed into the white society, where they actually belong. But for caste-prejudice, they would long since have disappeared. When, socially and politically, the negro is in the ascendancy at the South, the far-seeing, ambitious, and by no means fastidious, white politicians will eagerly seek alliances among the black leaders. To many this is an abhorrent thought; but it is inevitable, possessing only this palliative, for those who cherish a pride of race, that it never will become as common under freedom as under slavery. The negro of 1984 will be a very different person from the negro of to-day. The Northern negro differs from his Southern brother by habit and training, as

negroes reared and educated abroad surpass those dwarfed at home by imperfect education and caste feeling. A number of young colored men are now in training abroad, whose parents have amassed fortunes since the close of the war. Already European alliances have been formed, and many cultured men of our race are living happily on Southern plantations.

As a political factor, the negro has not been an undoubted success. He is too credulous, too easily swayed. With him politics was a sentiment, not a business. He is readily thrown into a panic, quickly demoralized, and not prompt to seize an advantage. His failure in reconstruction was by no means blameworthy. He merely did as well as any crude, untrained race could do, and he contended vainly against the acquired instincts and trained methods of centuries. For a time the negro must be an unimportant political factor, although it were a difficult task to convince him of it. But he will not always be so, for he is quick to learn and is a natural politician. Our misfortune lay in the inverse order of our political and social development. The one which should have preceded came last. For the past fifteen years the two have traveled in nearly parallel lines. To-day they are rapidly changing their relative places. Our social development is properly leaping ahead of the political. With greater discipline, less imagination, sharpened selfishness, and the augmented confidence resulting from a solid constituency, the negro politician of the future will meet his antagonist with a different spirit and keener weapons, although our higher and true development would be enhanced, could we be outside of politics for ten years at least.

Wealth, superior intelligence, and a more vigorous demonstration of the absurdity of race-prejudice, will lead to higher social conditions. Men of color are received abroad on the plane of merit, because no stain of recent servitude attaches to them. At the South our social advance must first come as a coy concession to us, while in many instances the concession will be on the other side. By social position in this connection I, of course, allude only to such recognition as mere law can supply and regulate, as unimpeded travel, the right to entertainment at public places of amusement, and admittance to schools supported by public funds.

The negro will help his cause by a wise, cautious, temperate use, both of assertion and concession; by tact which is a resultant of these two powers in social dynamics. There are many cases

where the negro needs more self-assertion. He has often conceded away all his rights, and with these the respect partially entertained for him.

There is not an intelligent economist, nor the merest tyro in political ethics, who, putting aside race-prejudices, can say the negro is not a useful citizen to-day. Every adverse opinion hitherto held about him — Jefferson's, Madison's, De Tocqueville's, Grimke's, Nott's, and Gliddon's — has been quietly disproved, and apparently through no effort of his own. He is self-supporting; he adds to the wealth of the country; he is accumulating property; he is gradually buying up the land from which Southern short-sightedness drives out Northern enterprise. Unconsciously, not knowing he was on trial, he has come up to every reasonable requirement, and dissipated every just fear. He did not rise and murder during the war. He saved nearly \$50,000,000 after the war, though starting with nothing, and white men robbed him of his savings. He has been more thrifty and patient as a freeman than ever he was in slavery, as his improved cabin, the statistics of the cotton crop, and the records of his trade with the North all show. He is a better customer to the North now than the Southern white was before the war; his needs under freedom are greater. It is he who buys the Yankee notions, the best cloth, shoes, clocks, and household comforts sold at the South. His social state is slowly consolidating; his church system is steadily assuming coherence and becoming effective; his societies, charitable and otherwise, are multifarious, useful, and beneficial. Freed from the corrupting influence of politics, he goes into business, and keeps a store, or works in the mill or the tobacco factory. He is no longer satisfied with the one-floor cabin; decency, pride, ambition, impel him to own a house. All along the route from Washington to New Orleans one sees these houses, mostly paid for, some paid for two or three times over, and filled with comforts and conveniences unknown to the planter of twenty years ago.

In all this I leave out the number and influence of the educated negroes, who are now scattered broadcast in the South, thanks to Northern philanthropy. I take no note of upward of a hundred journals owned and edited by negroes. The elements which go to prove the negro a useful factor in the Republic are such as we had no cause to expect from his antecedents. His drawbacks are the concomitants of slavery, the results of the



blunders of reconstruction, the direct effect of forces outside of himself. Intemperance, a low standard of morality, an emotional rather than reflective system of religious ethics, a partial divorce of creed and conduct, and a tendency (by no means confined to negroes) of superficial learning and of the less desirable elements of character, fitness, or brain, to force their way to the front, are evils which every honest negro must deplore, while sadly admitting their existence. But he who draws from these facts a wholesale inference derogatory to the entire race had better obliterate the histories of France, England, Germany, and Russia, or eliminate from their pages the scandals of social life, the vicious priesthods, the bribery and corruption in high places, the venality, immorality, and degradation which have characterized these more favored races at various stages of their development. The most hopeful sign for the negro to-day is his indisposition to be carried and cared for. He aspires to own his house, manage his own plantation, conduct his own business, teach his own school. It is not his fault that he cannot rid himself of the professed philanthropist and professed politician. They will insist, despite the negro's protest, upon praying, thinking, preaching, voting, and caring for him.

RICHARD T. GREENER.

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THE power to forecast with certainty the destiny of any particular portion of the human family, or any constituent element in a great nation, has not been conferred upon the wisest of statesmen or the profoundest of social philosophers. Such a problem is liable to be affected by so many indeterminate influences that the most skilled judgment may be found at fault. But there are principles of human nature and tendencies of civilization, so constant and uniform in their operation, that he who rightly regards them is not likely to go far astray in predicting the future of the American negro. In dealing with this problem, I must be understood to assume that the Republic of the United States will remain true to the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which are at once its foundation-stones, the breath of its life, and the secret of its growth and power.

The negro, in his essential being, is not, as many seem to suppose, an exceptional creature, but a legitimate member of the

great human family, endowed with the same attributes and capacities as his Anglo-Saxon brother. His humanity, in spite of the accidents of birth, climate, and complexion, is identical with that of his whitest neighbor. He is endowed with all the natural elements, whether intellectual or moral, of a true manhood, and capable of the highest achievements in scholarship, culture, and refinement. American civilization has redeemed him from slavery, invested him with all the rights of a citizen, and made accessible to him all the sources of human knowledge; and we may accept his eagerness to avail himself of his new advantages as a sure augury of his future attainments and triumphs. He only needs time to outgrow the scars which slavery inflicted upon him, and make himself a man among men. The transformation may be slow, but not on that account is it the less certain. Moreover, the tendencies of the time are toward the obliteration of race distinctions and a union of all branches of the human family in a common struggle for mutual protection and development.

For these and other equally cogent reasons, I hold that the negro of the United States is not at all likely to emigrate from the land of his birth in the vain hope of placing himself in more favorable circumstances than those which surround him here. Those who indulge the dream that he will betake himself to some region of the earth where he can build up a nationality of his own color, mistake his character, and are sure to meet with disappointment. He is here, in the land of his birth, the land of freedom and equality, and here he will remain, in spite of the contempt of the vulgar and the persecution of the proud. I am also certain that, in proportion as the negro qualifies himself by education and refinement to share the privileges and amenities of cultivated society, he will find the color of his skin no bar to these advantages. Gradually, but surely, the vulgar "prejudice of color" will fade out of the minds and hearts of people of culture, and a black skin, no more than red hair or blue eyes, will be regarded as a badge of social inferiority. Nor do I shrink from avowing my belief that when this day arrives, marriages between whites and blacks, if they do not become common, will be far more frequent than they are now, without exciting either wonder or opposition. Ignorance, whether among citizens of a white or a black complexion, will always be a source of danger to the country; but I am confident

that the day is not very distant when the negro will be a useful and valuable factor in the body politic. His advancement will not be the fruit either of concession or self-assertion, exclusively, but of a wise resort to the one or the other method, as circumstances may require. We may in this particular safely confide in his own judgment and tact, which have been so well illustrated in the past.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

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THE negro has come to America to stay. As yet, neither migration nor emigration has taken place to any appreciable extent. A map based on the last census, which shows in colors the race localizations of the country, has for its blackest division the Southern Atlantic slope and the Gulf States. There, climate and conditions seem to fix the home of the negro; and that he thrives where the white race deteriorates or fails to improve, may be shown by contrasting corresponding types of the races along the swampy banks of the Mississippi, in the Louisiana lowlands, or in the malarious tide-water country on the Atlantic coast. In the higher country back from the coast, the census map indicates a marked difference; better physical conditions tend to promote an increase of the white population and a growth in civilization, and furthermore it is noticeable that the best Anglo-African civilization is outside of the black belt. Throughout Virginia, in the limits or vicinity of the principal Southern cities, wherever in Tennessee and Georgia, the Carolinas and other States there is enterprise, the negro gets his share of work and is quite as thrifty as the laboring whites, buys land and builds, and is rapidly getting his portion of the broken-up Southern plantations. The most important and hopeful fact about the freedman is his desire for land and education, and this, in spite of the fact that vast numbers of the race are idle and thriftless, will, I think, fix him with us forever. The empire of labor which slavery gave the negro, he means to keep.

Intermarriage with whites is practically as much discouraged by negroes as by their pale-faced brothers. It will amount to nothing, although, through slavery, miscegenation is almost an accomplished fact. Outside of the Gulf and the Southern Atlantic States, the pure negro is to-day the exception. As a result of their changed relations, the tendency to a mingling of

racess seems much less strong than under the false conditions of slavery.

The political and social privileges of the negroes in the future will depend on their development, which, in the main, will be in direct ratio to the efforts made for their improvement. Their present unfitness, as a class, to use their power, is such that they will not be allowed, even in the States in which they have a majority, to assume political control. This is clear, confessed, and declared to be necessary; but it plainly tends to destroy republican forms of government, and, if long continued, will react terribly on those who tamper with the ballot-box. It is hard to see ahead. The negro has lost much ground politically since the days of reconstruction, but in Tennessee and Virginia he has of late held the balance of power, voting for paying State debts in the former, and for repudiating them in the latter State. His rapid increase in numbers, and therefore in power, is making him an uncertain and dangerous factor in politics. The social question will take care of itself. There is nothing to prevent individuals or classes from choosing their social distance from other individuals or classes; there can be no intercourse without the consent of both parties. In society, as in any form of commerce, when people have what is wanted little account is made of their race characteristics. Accomplished and successful negroes will find their place; colored millionaires will not suffer much from prejudice. In both colored and white society there is a tendency to distinguish between black and "bright" members of the race, which will not be without its effect in the future. In a middle course of action lies the negro's best hope: he should make the most of himself, but, if possible, forget grievances, and obey the dictates of common sense.

S. C. ARMSTRONG.

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WITHOUT claiming for the negro any special local attachment, it is safe to assert that he is totally void of that spirit of enterprise which induces man to endeavor to better his fortunes in strange lands. By nature and by force of circumstances he is unambitious; satisfied with a modicum of success in all his undertakings, he is not inclined to adventure. His preference, as a race, is most likely to be for agricultural pursuits, and as the

Southern climate must always be congenial to him, it is more than probable that the South will continue to be the headquarters of the race and the theater of its achievements. Whatever of excitement his nature demands, is readily gratified by the mild recreations of rod and gun. Beyond the annual local flittings, begotten oftener of financial failure and disappointment than of innate restlessness, his desire to explore unknown regions lies dormant, if, indeed, it exists at all. The Kansas craze might be quoted in contradiction of this view; but as that hegira was simply the outcome of false and alluring promises, which had its sad and prompt sequel in the homeward travel of many a foot-sore and heart-sick dupe, it counts for naught in the way of argument. Of course, as educational advantages increase, there will be many and notable departures from the general rule here laid down.

The question of miscegenation bids fair to work out its own solution according to that dictate of nature which has the preservation of the unities for its object. The probability of intermarriage with the white race will grow less as time passes on, and the freedman comes to recognize himself as something more than a chattel, manufactured for the exclusive use and pleasure of a superior race. With the cultivation of his mind and the expansion of his intellect, his self-esteem will be increased, and the ban which nature herself has placed upon the commingling of the races will be strengthened by their new-found and self-respecting pride of race. Thus, while his political and social privileges will undoubtedly increase, and will be willingly accorded him by the Southern whites, when he shall have become fitted for their exercise, the idea of intermarriage must always remain a remote possibility.

The necessity for improving the moral and mental condition of the negro being granted, it would be well to consider the most efficacious manner of so doing. In the present illogical condition of his faculties, concession and submission would be controvertible terms. He has never come to place so high an estimate upon his own brain-power as to pit himself against the palpable superiority of the educated race; hence, positive assertion and direct guidance on the part of those who would improve his condition, or win him to a just conception of his rights and his responsibilities, must for some time to come be deemed the wisest and truest policy to pursue toward a people kept humble

by consciousness of their own deficiencies. Given that degree of education which the average mind attains under the common-school system of the United States, plus the negro's imitative nature, which will always cause him to take the social and political hue of his surroundings, and there is no reason to apprehend that he will ever become a source of danger to the nation, in which at present he is a very knotty problem.

J. H. WALWORTH.

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THE negro may migrate, but he will not emigrate. He has been here more than two hundred and fifty years, and quite as much as any other class he is imbued with our religion and with our ideas, while he is largely interwoven with our material interests and prosperity. Every attempt at his deportation to the tropics or elsewhere, or his segregation on this continent, has signally failed. Every fact in his history, every known trait in his character, indicate that he will remain where he is. But while remaining here, he will also continue as a distinct race. Negroes have a settled antipathy to intermarriages with whites. The whites are so saturated with prejudice and the idea of the negro's inferiority, and so oblivious to the fact that he is now free, with no limit to his pursuit and enjoyment of life, liberty, and happiness, that everything is done by them to discourage, restrict, and prevent such marriages. But such arbitrary and unnatural restriction, founded on prejudice, is wholly out of place in America, and ought to be out of date in any civilized country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

As a colored man, my observation—somewhat extensive, both on the Atlantic and Pacific shores—leads me to the conclusion that the negro's political and social privileges will increase. The tendency in this country is toward a recognized equality of all political rights and public privileges. The great underlying principle of the Government is that all men, without reference to their origin, shall have and enjoy the right and opportunity to become good citizens, and to make the most of themselves. Without this, America would hardly be more than the Old World was before the French Revolution. We are none of us greater than events, and we cannot, if we would, annihilate or subvert the law of sequences.

The negro will win favor both by assertion and by concession. A reasonable view of the situation cannot separate these two methods. He must concede as well as assert, but always in the light of acknowledged American principles and of that higher law, public sentiment. He is only too willing to concede, but he must, and by instinct will, assert what both written and unwritten law accord to him. Neither abject concession on the one hand, nor boisterous assertion on the other, will avail him. He must observe the golden mean. Though as yet he is a source of danger, he will ultimately be a useful element in the body politic. The danger arises from his imperfect appreciation of the responsibilities of the ballot, and from the cunning and violence that are resorted to in the South to deprive him of it. Aside from this, consistent testimony shows that he is peaceable, industrious, and progressive in every respect. The negroes constitute one-eighth of our population. No available tonnage could take them back to the land of their forefathers. They are loyal, patriotic, and thoroughly American, and all they ask is fair play.

J. A. EMERSON.